

in parallel. It was agreed that construction would begin by 2003. Unfortunately, one item left unresolved in that agreement was the question of liability protection for the U.S. for work performed in Russia.

In January 2001, the Bush administration began a year-long review of all nonproliferation programs with Russia. During this review, the contracting team submitted a construction authorization request to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission for approval.

January 2002, the administration decided to pursue a MOX-only pathway and put an end to further work on a vitrification program.

In September 2002, MINATOM, the Russian counterpart to the Department of Energy, agreed to use an identical design of the U.S. proposed MOX facility.

In July 2003, the temporary 5-year limited liability coverage provided under the 1998 Science and Technical Cooperation Agreement expired.

In February 2004, without a formal agreement on liability, the U.S. announced a delay in the program. Plans to initiate construction in May 2004 were delayed until May 2005.

August 2004, the Russians begin site characterization work at the Siberian Chemical Combine in Seversk, Russia, as a location of the MOX facility. The site has been cleared and is awaiting construction. Unlike the Savannah River site, which has a year-round construction season, the Seversk site is limited to work in the summer.

In September 2004, Los Alamos shipped 125 kilograms of surplus plutonium to France for fabrication into MOX fuel assemblies for a test burn in a commercial U.S. reactor. This activity is undertaken in France since the design of the U.S. and Russian fuel fabrication facility is identical to the French facility that is currently reprocessing spent commercial fuel for European and Asian customers. The shipments between the U.S. and France occurred without incident and the lead test assemblies are now being used in the Catawba reactor owned and operated by Duke Power.

In December 2004, the engineering team completed the licensable design of the U.S. facility, and the NRC awarded the construction permit for the U.S. facility in March 2005.

On April 20, 2005, the U.S. offered a new liability agreement that was ultimately accepted by the Russian Government in July 2005. It took several months of intense lobbying to pressure the U.S. interagency process to produce a liability agreement that was not identical to the liability terms provided under the Cooperative Threat Reduction Agreement.

On July 19, 2005, the United States and Russia agreed to the terms of a final liability package. This agreement must go to President Putin to be drafted and published as a Presidential decree. Once circulated, Secretary Rice and her counterpart in the Ministry of

Foreign Affairs will officially sign the agreement, which will then go to the Russian Duma for ratification.

Once this document is signed by Secretary Rice, the Department of Energy will move forward with a site clearing activities in Savannah River, SC, with construction to commence in fiscal year 2006.

I am proud of the fact that two different administrations have followed through on this bilateral initiative, and we are now approaching another critical juncture. Following a decade of successful and numerous scientific, environmental and regulatory reviews, we are at a stage where it is important that Congress maintain an adequate and reliable level of funding to complete construction.

I am aware of the fact that the House and Senate Armed Services Committees have reduced funding for MOX construction but have preserved the funding within other nonproliferation accounts. I am hopeful that during the consideration of the Senate defense authorization bill, Chairman WARNER and Senator LEVIN will agree to restore the funding back into the MOX construction accounts.

In addition, I am hopeful that I will be successful in convincing the House to restore critical funding that was eliminated from the MOX construction program. Of the \$360 million requested for construction, the House only provided \$35 million. Failure to provide adequate funding would undermine a decade of cooperation between the U.S. and Russia and do nothing to reduce the amount of excess plutonium.

If we are unable to fully fund the construction program and keep the project on track it will prevent the U.S. from consolidating plutonium across the weapons complex and could result in a \$100 million per year penalties to be paid to the State of South Carolina as mandated in the Fiscal Year 2003 National Defense Authorization Act. We have come too far to not complete this project.

I have believed in this initiative from the beginning and believe we can do more to reduce the threat from nuclear proliferation. I am committed to seeing additional resources be used in securing Russian warheads beyond the reach of terrorists. I am committed to strong enforcement by the U.S. or International Atomic Energy Agency, IAEA, to break up the nuclear black market, where nuclear technology and scientific expertise can be bought for a price.

The stakes are too high and the price too great to consider anything but an aggressive effort by the U.S. and our global partners to prevent the spread of nuclear material.

#### SENATOR GAYLORD NELSON MEMORIAL SERVICE

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the transcript from Senator Gaylord Nelson's memo-

rial service in Madison, WI, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GAYLORD NELSON'S MEMORIAL SERVICE, JULY 13, 2005, WISCONSIN STATE CAPITOL

Performance of "Glorious Things of Thee are Spoken"—Clear Lake High School Brass Quintet

William H. Meadows: That hymn, by Haydn, was performed by the brass quintet from Clear Lake High School, directed by Mike Larson. Their participation is quite appropriate, since Gaylord Nelson, whom we honor today, played trumpet in the Clear Lake High School band. To hear him tell it, he did not play it very well. (Laughter.) Later in life, Gaylord learned that he was on the enemies list of the Nixon White House, but was puzzled about what he could have done to become a Nixon enemy. "Maybe he heard me play the trumpet in the Clear Lake band," Gaylord said. (Laughter.)

Good afternoon, I'm Bill Meadows, I'm president of The Wilderness Society and today I have the honor to pay tribute to my friend and colleague, Gaylord Nelson, and introduce others who knew and loved him well. We are here to testify to the incredible mark he left on all of our worlds. Joining us today in celebrating Gaylord's life, of course, are Carrie Lee Nelson and the Nelson family; Governor and Mrs. Doyle; Senator Kohl; Senator Feingold; Senator Bayh; Senator Bingaman; Senator Biden; Senator Abourezk; Representative Obey; Representative Petri; Representative Baldwin; Representative Kind; Representative Moore; Representative Kasttenmeier; Representative Baldus; Vice President Mondale; former Governors Lucey, Schreiber, Earl, McCallum, and Mrs. Reynolds; Lieutenant Governor Lawton; Attorney General Lautenschlager; Treasurer Voight; Superintendent Burmaster; members of the Wisconsin Legislature; members of the Wisconsin Supreme Court; and citizens of Clear Lake, Wisconsin.

The story about the Clear Lake band is typical Gaylord. Gaylord—the Governor, the United States Senator, the founder of Earth Day—was an irrepressible raconteur. But of the many accolades he received in his lifetime, I think this man, the father of the modern environmental movement, would want to be remembered first for being a good husband and father to the family he cherished. I'd like to take a moment to recognize Carrie Lee, Gaylord's beloved wife of 57 years, whose unwavering support meant so much to him, not the least of which was that he always had a good audience. And his three children, Tia, Happy, Jeff, and their spouses, and his grandchildren. (Applause.)

Gaylord joined The Wilderness Society family 25 years ago, serving as our counselor and special convener of after-hours, post-board meeting poker games.

For the last nine years, I have had the pleasure of working a few doors down from his office. However, my relationship with Gaylord began in 1970, when Earth Day motivated me to get involved in environmental issues. One thing led to another and the rest, as they say, is history. I now have the privilege of working every day to protect America's extraordinary wilderness, using the Wilderness Act of 1964, just one of the many remarkable laws Gaylord Nelson co-sponsored during his tenure in the Senate.

Recently, Congress saw fit to pay respect to Gaylord with a wilderness area named in his honor, a place that he always felt was part of his very blood and bones. This beautiful State of Wisconsin, the Gaylord A. Nelson Apostle Islands Lakeshore Wilderness, will forever protect the wild lands and wild

creatures that inhabit more than 33,000 acres on Lake Superior. There may not have been any greater tribute we, or anyone, can pay to this man than preserving a piece of the planet he loved so dearly.

I would like to close by reading some of Gaylord's own words, which eloquently express who he was. His message on Earth Day 2000 encapsulated his views as a new century began: "The wealth of our Nation is in its air, water, soil, forest, minerals, rivers, lakes, oceans, scenic beauty, wildlife habitat, and biodiversity. Take this resource base away and all that's left is a wasteland. The economy is a wholly owned subsidiary of the environment. That's where all the economic activity and all the jobs come from. We are pursuing a self-destructive course of fueling our economies by drawing down our natural capitol, by degrading and depleting our resource base and counting it on the income side of the ledger. This obviously is not a sustainable situation for the long term. Forging and maintaining a sustainable society is a challenge for this and all generations to come."

"We need a generation imbued—(applause)—we need a generation imbued with an environmental ethic," Nelson said repeatedly over the years, "an environmental ethic which causes society to always ask the question: 'If we intrude on this work of nature, what will the consequences be?' Such an ethic would recognize the bonds that unite the species man with the natural systems of the planet and would affirm human's stewardship role on the planet."

This message and goal has not changed in a half century since Aldo Leopold wrote, in *A Sand County Almanac*, of the need for what he called a land ethic. Leopold wrote: "A land ethic, then, reflects the existence of an ecological conscience and this in turn reflects a conviction of individual responsibility for the health of the land. The land ethic changes the role of Homo sapiens from conqueror of the land community to a plain member and citizen of it." That, in a few sentences, was what the environmental movement was all about. Nelson's environmentalism was a direct descendant of Leopold's conservation.

Gaylord Nelson's friendship transcends political parties. One of the remarkable things about Gaylord was his ability to disagree with people on issues without being disagreeable. One of the best examples is his friendship with Melvin Laird. They met as state senators in 1948. Laird was the Republican floor leader and Nelson, the Democratic leader. They would fiercely debate the issues all day long on the floor of the Senate, but once the Senate would adjourn, they too would adjourn for drinks and socializing at the Park Hotel. As often as not, Laird would end up later at the Nelsons' home for dinner and spend the evening with Gaylord and Carrie Lee. That friendship survived some trying times, as Melvin Laird went on to the House of Representatives; Gaylord, to the governorship and then to the U.S. Senate. It survived Laird's days as Nixon's Secretary of Defense during the Vietnam War, when Nelson was one of the outspoken opponents of the war.

Secretary Laird is unable to be here to participate today because of health problems, so representing him is Congressman Thomas Petri, a Republican who began his career in the Wisconsin State Senate and who was elected to the House of Representatives in a special election in 1979. While a State Senator, Tom Petri ran against Gaylord Nelson as the Republican candidate for U.S. Senate in 1974. Gaylord had praise for his opponent, calling Tom Petri an able, honest, talented, fair-minded, perceptive man of commitment and dedication. He added with a laugh, "How

often do you find two people like that in the same election?" (Laughter, applause). Congressman Petri. (Applause.)

U.S. Representative Thomas Petri: Because his doctor advised him not to travel, Mel Laird asked me to pass on a few words about his great and good friend, former Wisconsin State Senate colleague and colleague in Washington and in Wisconsin, Gaylord Nelson. They served together in the Republican State Senate where Laird was the Republican leader. Of course he was Congressman and also served as our Nation's Secretary of Defense. I am quite honored to say a few words for Mr. Laird, but actually when I was first asked to speak here it occurred to me that perhaps I was invited because I played a vital role in Senator Nelson's last successful political campaign. (Laughter.) I was the one who lost. (Laughter.)

Well, be that as it may, Gaylord was a Democrat and Mel Laird, a Republican. But as has been pointed out, that difference did not prevent them from becoming great and good friends. From the late 1940s, in Wisconsin, where they were both members of the Piscatorial and Inside Straight Society, a bipartisan group that fished together, tell stories to each other, lie about each other, and play gin rummy. And Nelson's wife, Carrie Lee, understood both Gaylord and Mel and put up with their many discussions far into the night in both Madison and out in Washington. Carrie Lee once told Mel that she had to throw Mel out of the Nelson apartment more often than any other person. (Laughter.)

When Mel was the majority leader in the State Senate in 1948, Gaylord led the tiny Democratic delegation that at that time had just five members, of the 33. That was less than the one-third Gaylord needed to force a record vote on legislation. Mel says that he always made sure that enough Republicans would vote "Aye" in order to let Gaylord force a roll call vote. He said that Gaylord was always very grateful, choosing to ignore the fact that Mel allowed the votes in order to show that Gaylord could only muster five measly votes for his legislation. (Laughter.)

Years later, when Mel was Secretary of Defense and Gaylord was a U.S. Senator, Mel took his pals to the Army Navy Club for a few adult beverages. Soon enough, they were arguing about the emergency hotline between Washington and Moscow. Secretary of Defense Laird said that it was located at the Pentagon and Senator Nelson said that our end of the hotline was at the White House. The two made a bet on it and the Senator said to the Defense Secretary, "Well, let's go down to the Pentagon and you can show it to me if it's really there." The two arrived at the Pentagon's command center, where Mel introduced Gaylord to the officer on duty, who was shocked to see the Defense Secretary and a U.S. Senator waltz in during the wee hours of the morning. Mel had the officer run a communications test to demonstrate that the line with Moscow was functioning and Mel won the bet. Now that little anecdote has already made it into the papers, but Mel wanted me to pass on one additional detail. The two buddies had been enjoying them so much that when they were dropped back off at the Army Navy Club, Gaylord couldn't remember where his car was and in fact didn't find it for three days. (Laughter.)

Now here's a story that was passed on to me by, I think, the late Jimmy Wimmer, who worked for Nelson when he was Governor. We all know about Gaylord's concerns about the environment and his early warnings about our involvement in Vietnam. But also Gaylord was, like Jimmy, a great anglophile. On one occasion, Gaylord was sitting next to a member of the House of Lords at

dinner and the British gentleman kept referring to Gaylord as Senator Nelson. Finally, Senator Nelson leaned over and said, "Oh no, please call me Gaylord." Then the fellow said, "Very well, Gaylord." And after a pause, Nelson said, "And what may I call you?" Well, the British man looked at him and said, "Well, Gaylord, you may call me 'my lord.'" (Laughter.)

Well, different people have different styles but I particularly like Gaylord's style. He was, perhaps, the most liked person in the U.S. Senate while he was there and the most liked on both sides of the political aisle. Senator Eagleton says that Senator Nelson never said anything bad about anybody. He was never down in the dumps, he was never a naysayer, he was never cross.

Now Mel Laird asked me to emphasize this: in the political arena, Mel and Gaylord would fight hammer and tongs. But at the end of the day, they could share a beverage and carry on a spirited, friendly conversation. Gaylord helped promote civility between Democrats and Republicans. The parties could have great disagreements, but he helped to maintain friendship and ultimately common purpose, which potentially included everybody. Over the years that I've been in Washington, the Congress has grown increasingly polarized with each party seeking any advantage. Gaylord Nelson would have had none of that. He called on us all to be better than that, to treat everyone with friendship and with respect. As Mel Laird says, and I concur, we could all use a lot more of Gaylord's civility in politics these days. (Applause.)

William H. Meadows: When I looked around early I did not see former Governor Thompson and I want to recognize him now and thank him for being with us this afternoon. Congressman David Obey has been a Nelson family friend for more than 40 years. He began his political career in the State Assembly, winning a seat in 1962—the same year that Gaylord was elected to the U.S. Senate. It was David Obey who was with Gaylord in Wausau in the summer of 1964, when Gaylord first spoke out about the Vietnam War and warned that escalating a ground war there would be a tragic mistake. David Obey was elected to the House of Representatives in 1969 in a special election to replace Mel Laird when Laird became Secretary of Defense. As we environmentalists like to say, everything is connected. He has been chairman of the House Appropriations Committee and is currently the ranking Democratic member of that committee. Congressman Obey. (Applause.)

U.S. Rep. David Obey: Thank you, thank you, thank you. There's an old maxim about political funerals and memorial services. The biggest one I ever saw was for Phil Burton, a controversial congressman from California. Had a huge crowd. And when it was over, Phil's brother John observed to the press that the reason the crowd was so large was because half of the crowd came to bid Phil goodbye and the other half came to make sure that he was leaving. (Laughter.) This day is very different. What a great life we are celebrating here today. When Gaylord left the Senate, Carrie Lee said the State of Wisconsin got 30 good years out of Gaylord. Well, all of us got 89 good years out of Gaylord and Gaylord got 89 good years out of life.

There is (applause), there is no doubt that Gaylord will be remembered through the years for his leadership on the environment. If he had never served a day in the United States Senate, he would still have been remembered as one of Wisconsin's great leaders because of the pioneering Outdoor Recreation Act that he passed as Governor. And what he accomplished in that field in the

Senate is truly remarkable. I will not repeat it to you, you know the litany, you know what the accomplishments are.

What is also amazing about Gaylord is that he led in so many other areas: auto and tire safety, drug safety and pricing, manpower training, the Older Americans Act, legal services for the poor. People will not remember this—Howard Temin would, if he were still at the University of Wisconsin—but on cancer research, Gaylord stood as one man against the entire United States Senate to prevent the cancer institute from being politicized and being directly linked to the White House. He lost the initial vote, he was the only vote in the Senate cast against that legislation. But by the time it was over, he had turned the entire U.S. Senate around and he saved the organizational integrity of the National Institutes of Health.

On civil rights (applause), on civil rights, in 1963 after the bombing of the 16th Street Church in Birmingham, my friend Joe Wilson and Ed Harris wrote an article for *The Progressive* magazine entitled “Hucksters of Hate” about the role of J.B. Stoner and the Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Joe said afterwards that for months he carried a .38 Smith & Wesson on his hip, fearing that the Klan would come after him. He said he felt a little less lonely, a little less frightened after Gaylord put the story in the Congressional Record to show that someone was watching.

And he stood, as has been mentioned, as one of three against the first increased appropriations for Vietnam. I do remember in 1965 going to Channel 7 in Wausau.

Gaylord gave an interview on Vietnam and halfway through the interviewer stopped the camera and he said, “Senator, I’m sorry, you just misspoke. You said that we have 500,000 troops in Vietnam.” Gaylord said, “That’s right, we will.” And the announcer said, “Well, okay, it’s your funeral,” and he resumed the interview. And when we walked out of that station, Gaylord turned to me and he said, “You know, I may have beaten myself tonight.” But he said, “that’s what I really believe will happen.” If the country and if LBJ had listened to Gaylord, there would be one less war memorial to visit on the Mall in Washington, D.C. And 50,000 (applause) Americans, and 50,000 Americans would not have died.

There were two things about Gaylord that were especially special. First, in almost everything he did, the causes he fought for were fundamental, he did not trivialize his life, and he changed the way people thought. In short, he was precisely the kind of person that politics is all too short of these days. On his signature issue, the environment (applause) on his signature issue, the environment, Gaylord took Aldo Leopold’s conservation ethic and made people understand that it was not just about birds, and fish, and wildlife, and natural beauty. He drove home the point that the most fundamental bond between us as biological creatures on this planet is through the common air that we breathe, the water we drink, the land we walk, and that the most basic test of our respect for one another, for those who have gone before, and for those who will come after, is the way we meet our stewardship responsibilities to the ecosystem that sustains us all.

The second thing about Gaylord, that was so special, is the way he played the game. Someone said last week that Gaylord had no enemies. That is not true. He had one. His name was Richard Nixon. And during Watergate, as has been referred to already, we learned that Nixon had made a list of enemies he wanted to do in. And that Gaylord was on the list along with Bill Proxmire and Bob Kastenmeier. What we loved about Gay-

lord is that we could never have imagined Gaylord compiling an enemies list of his own.

Gaylord was my dear friend, my mentor, and my political hero.

Wisconsin has experienced two progressive revolutions in the twentieth century. The first was led by Bob La Follette at the turn of the last century and the second after the collapse of the progressive party in 1946, was led by a host of young reformers who remain the Democratic Party. People like Elliot Walstead, Jim Doyle, Tom Fairchild, Frank Nikolay, Horace Wilkie, Carl Thompson, John Reynolds, Henry Royce, Bob Kastenmeier, Pat Lucey, Bill Proxmire, and Gaylord Nelson, and so many others. And Gaylord’s election as Governor in 1958 was the culmination of that second progressive revival. And the La Follette tradition ran straight through him to the next generation of people who saw Gaylord as an example. People like me, Tom Loftus, Tony Earl, Tammy Baldwin, Russ Feingold, Herb Kohl, and so many others.

I would never have been elected to Congress without his help. He sent Louie Hanson into my district, took one look at amateur city, and decided Louie had better stay for a while. (Laughter, applause.) We know how Gaylord loved to campaign. He came into my district seven weekends in a row; I would not have won without it. The causes he fought for and the way he fought for them made me and all of us gathered here today proud to be in his country or in his company.

Now we all have our favorite stories about Gaylord. Mine are those that he told about Clear Lake and Polk County, trying to loosen up his audiences. Harvey Dueholm, was a State Representative. He grew up with Gaylord. He had great courage and earthy wit. He had a face like a basset hound on a bad day. (Laughter.) Harvey told the stories about the mischief that Gaylord got into as a child. And he told a congressional committee once, “We all knew Gaylord would grow up to be in an institution, we just didn’t know it’d be the United States Senate.” (Laughter.)

My favorite story is one that occurred in this building. Gaylord was governor, the Republicans controlled the legislature. They wanted to solve the deficit by raising the sales tax, Democrats wanted the income tax to be increased. So Gaylord compromised and had a little bit of both, went into the Democratic caucus to explain and when he was done, Bill Lorge, from St. Croix County, Dueholm’s roommate, stood up and said, “Gaylord, I love you like a brother. But when I go over to the Belmont Hotel tonight, and I take my clothes off, and I put my pajamas on, and I climb into my bed, and put my head on that pillow, and I put my false teeth in that glass of salt water, my conscience won’t let me vote for a sales tax. Well, Harvey Dueholm stood up and said, “Mr. Chairman, I have a suggestion for the gentleman. The next time they go over to the Belmont Hotel, you take your clothes off, you put your pajamas on, you climb into bed, you put the head on that pillow, leave your false teeth in your head, put that conscience in that glass of salt water. Everybody’d be better off. (Laughter, applause.)

Gaylord was the funniest stump speaker I ever heard, but one night I saw him bested. Adlai Stevenson came to Madison to speak to the Civil War Roundtable and he was about an hour late afterwards, coming over to the old Park Hotel to talk to the party faithful. Finally Gaylord dragged Governor Stevenson and he went up to the mike, he said, “I’m sorry we’re so late, so I’ll give one of my typically short speeches.” Stevenson interrupted and said, “I’ll give one of my typically long ones.” (Laughter.) Gaylord

said, “You do and I’ll leave without you.” Stevenson said, “Go ahead, see who the crowd follows.” It’s the only time I saw Gaylord one-upped, except by Carrie Lee. (Laughter.)

Gaylord was incredibly fortunate in his choice of a life’s mate. She was strong, and dedicated, and devoted to him, and gave him strength. And the care that she gave him in the last months of his life was truly wonderful. Gaylord was fiercely proud of her. He said she could smell a phony, even from upwind, faster than anybody he ever knew. (Laughter.) Gaylord’s friend, Scotty Reston, from the New York Times, said once, or he wrote once, “if not deflated once a week by a loving wife, members of Congress come to believe that they are what they merely represent.” Gaylord never had to worry about getting a big head as long as Carrie Lee was around. When she was asked by the press what was the secret of her long marriage, she said, “It’s very simple, we were both in love with the same man. (Laughter, applause.)

But Gaylord’s favorite story about Carrie Lee occurred when Gaylord worked in this building in the State Senate. He was leaving one night and as he was walking out of the Capitol he ran into Governor Rennebohm, who was a fairly starchy fellow. And the Governor said, “Gaylord, would you mind coming over with me to the Madison Club? There are a few things I’d like to talk to you about.” And Gaylord said, “Oh Governor, I’d love to but I haven’t been home a single night this week. My wife will kill me if I don’t get home.” And he said, “let me take”—the Governor said, “let me take care of that. You just dial home.” So Gaylord dialed home, gave the receiver to the Governor. When Carrie Lee picked up the phone, Rennebohm said, “Mrs. Nelson, this is Governor Rennebohm. I wonder if you’d mind if Gaylord stayed downtown for an hour or so to talk over some business with me.” Carrie Lee responded, “Governor Rennebohm, my . . . (laughter) patootie.” (Laughter.) Only she didn’t say “patootie.” (Laughter.) Then, she says, “Whoever this is, you tell that hot shot to get his tail home now.” (Laughter, applause.) The Governor handed the phone to Gaylord and said, “My, you have an interesting wife.” (Laughter.) He did, he did, and he had an interesting life.

So Carrie Lee, Happy, Jeff, and Tia, we all thank you for giving up so much so that you could share him with us. Your sacrifice helped make Gaylord the greatest postwar leader in Wisconsin history and next to Bob La Follette himself, the greatest political leader Wisconsin has ever produced. Gaylord Nelson was the best and the sweetest man in politics that I’ve ever known. God knows I loved him, we all did. That’s why we’re here, that’s why we will miss him so much. If he could say one thing to all of us today, I think it would simply be: carry on, don’t ever give up the fight. (Applause.)

William H. Meadows: Walter F. Mondale’s friendship with Gaylord Nelson dates to the early 1960s when Mr. Mondale was Minnesota’s Attorney General and Gaylord Nelson was governor and a candidate for the Senate. In 1964, he joined Gaylord in the Senate and they served together until 1976 when he was elected Vice President of the United States on the ticket with President Carter. In 1984, Walter Mondale was the Democratic candidate for president and from 1993–1997, served under President Clinton as U.S. Ambassador to Japan. He has promised at least one Norwegian joke today. (Laughter.) Vice President Mondale. (Applause.)

Vice President Walter Mondale: Thank you, Carrie Lee, Tia, Happy, Jeff, and all of the Nelsons. In all of my life, I never had a better friend than Gaylord Nelson. But that’s

the way he was. He made friends everywhere. He was the best-liked member of the U.S. Senate, on both sides of the aisle. The other day, Tommy Hinkle wrote, he said, "I have thought and thought. No single person has brought greater joy to my life than Gaylord." He had the best staff on the Hill, everybody wanted to work for him. And over his career, Gaylord inspired generations of public and environmental leaders, like Dave Obey, many of whom make up this wonderful crowd here this afternoon. I knew Gaylord well, he had guts, he was real, he was what you saw.

In the Senate, Gaylord and I often talked as the Vietnam War was gathering. He opposed it from the start and he did so long before it was politically safe to do so. He famously voted against the war with only two other colleagues in the Senate, saying that he needed his conscience more than Lyndon needed his vote. Despite heavy pressure and bad polls, I never saw him flinch once. He put his career on the line.

When you've been in public life as long as some of us, you begin to judge public leaders more skeptically. You've seen the posers, the pious, the trimmers, the vain, but at the same time you can begin to recognize the few who run their course with such courage and honesty and decency that you are doubly inspired by their example of what is possible. And that was Gaylord Nelson. He had the vision. He believed in education, he had been given his chance, now others should have theirs. He believed in justice and civil rights and fought for all the civil rights acts. He believed in opportunity and chaired the committee that originated Head Start, Legal Services, and the Child and Family Services Act.

And of course we can't talk about Gaylord without Carrie Lee. They pulled it off together. In a marriage even celebrated in Brokaw's book *The Greatest Generation*, Carrie Lee was a great hostess, she was a great cook, she was a friend to everybody, and for as long as I can remember they would gather their friends together to have a good time and strengthen the bonds between us. Joan and I attended several of those events, including the famous 50th wedding anniversary where Carrie Lee pointed out that they loved the same man. It was that same night, and here's the Norwegian joke, (laughter), that Gaylord stood up and told the freshest of Norwegian jokes and that is that he loved Carrie Lee for so long that he had almost told her. (Laughter, applause.) Of course, the rest is history.

Gaylord did more to protect America's natural beauty and wildlife, to halt the corruption of our air and our water and the earth than any one single person in American history. Beginning in Wisconsin, in the Congress, and later in The Wilderness Society until his last breath. So his most priceless legacy is to be found in the protected national beauty saved for future Americans.

When Carrie Lee called Joan and me, telling us that Gaylord was gone, we were at our place out near Scandia, overlooking the St. Croix River just south of Osceola. And as we heard this message about our dearest friend, we were looking at this wonderful river and this wonderful valley that is protected forever because of him. All over the country, that is true of Gaylord, of his vision, and what he left for all of us. So Gaylord's place in our hearts and our nation's history is now assured, you can feel it here today.

But what he found so disturbing and what he talked so much about in later years, is that so much of what he accomplished is now under scandalous attack today. So if he were here today, I think he would want us to honor him most by renewing his great fight to preserve our nation's majesty and beauty. (Applause.)

Shakespeare once wrote that a good heart is the sun and the moon, or rather the sun, and not the moon, for it shines bright, never changes, but keeps its course truly. That's Gaylord. Over his long and wonderful life, he did shine bright and he surely kept his course truly. Gaylord, we will always remember you and we love you. (Applause.)

William H. Meadows: Governor Jim Doyle is someone who has known Gaylord Nelson his entire life. His parents, James and Ruth Doyle were contemporaries of Gaylord and were among those who worked with him to organize the modern Democratic Party of Wisconsin. Jim Doyle is a former Dane County District Attorney who was elected Attorney General in 1990 and served three terms. He was elected governor of Wisconsin in 2002. Governor Doyle. (Applause.)

Gov. Jim Doyle: Well to Carrie Lee, Happy, Tia, Jeff, to all of the members of the Nelson family, to the governors of the State of Wisconsin who have assembled here, to our current United States Senators, many from other states who have traveled to Wisconsin for this occasion, certainly Senators Kohl and Feingold, of course to Vice President Mondale—I remember the great rally we had a few years ago just outside the Capitol here with the Vice President—to all the members of Congress, and to all the citizens of Wisconsin.

We are here to celebrate the life of Wisconsin's favorite son. And at the same time, like many of you, not only is this a great public person but we are also here to acknowledge, to my family, the loss of a dear and treasured friend. There was never a time in my life that I didn't know Gaylord Nelson. I grew up in a home in which he and Carrie Lee and the whole other rest of the gang were often present with their highballs, as they called them in those days. But I also grew up in a home in which Gaylord and Carrie Lee were deeply revered. He is one of my parents' closest friends. Gaylord Nelson was elected to the Wisconsin Legislature in 1948, the same time my mother was elected to the Legislature and in that same year, a young representative from Prairie du Chien, Pat Lucey, was elected to the Wisconsin Legislature. Gaylord and Carrie Lee are the greatest of the greatest generation. They fought to preserve the world's freedom in World War II and then, together with a group of committed people, they returned to Wisconsin, intent on making this state, this nation, and this world a better place. They organized and built the Democratic party.

And with Gaylord and Carrie Lee's wisdom, energy, humor at the center, these people were not only close political allies, they were the closest of friends, almost family. And to my great benefit, Gaylord and Carrie Lee reached out to bring the next generation into that circle of warmth and friendship. Gaylord Nelson was sworn in as governor of the State of Wisconsin in this very spot 46 years ago. His public career as a legislator, governor, and United States senator has been an inspiration to so many who've come after.

Gaylord Nelson didn't enter politics for notoriety, he entered politics to make a difference. Early in his career, he was concerned that Bob La Follette would have solved all of the problems of the state and the country by the time he came along. But he found, when elected governor, that there were still a few more problems to work on. He was a tough, effective, and practical politician. He knew when to compromise and he knew when to stand on principle. He fought over some issues that, with the passage of years, when you look back, may seem somewhat small and trivial. But truly, as Dave Obey noted, Gaylord's genius was that he was able to identify the enduring values and

to focus on the issues that were most fundamental to this state, nation, and world. He brought basic Clear Lake, Wisconsin values to the positions he held. In World War II, he was one of four white officers in charge of an all black company. He was outraged that these men were risking their lives for a country in which they couldn't share a meal with him in public. So when he became state senator, one of the first pieces of legislation he introduced was to integrate the Wisconsin National Guard. (Applause.) And later, when President Kennedy sent Congress the most comprehensive, far-reaching civil rights bill ever proposed, Gaylord Nelson was first to sign on as a co-sponsor. (Applause.)

He made deep friendships across political aisles. I was so deeply honored when I was sworn in as governor at this place that Gaylord Nelson and Melvin Laird came together to my inauguration. And Melvin Laird, whose great words we heard recently—just a few moments ago—who happens to be the uncle of the First Lady of Wisconsin, to show you that all things do come around in a full circle, (laughter), called us immediately upon hearing of Gaylord's passing to express his, great sorrow and his great desire to be here today.

Gaylord Nelson understood that principle was more important than partisanship and he always put the public good ahead of personal political gain. Perhaps that's why he was one of just three senators, as we've heard, to vote against the Vietnam War. He came under enormous pressure to vote yes for the sake of solidarity with his president and his party, but in the end Gaylord Nelson wouldn't budge. He said that the Senate needed his vote far less than he needed his own conscience. I remember deeply the advice he gave me when I became governor. He said—and this is a difficult thing to do, and I think the other governors here will acknowledge—he said, "Don't dwell on the day-to-day fights in the Capitol; focus on what will really matter to people years and years down the road."

He ultimately once said that the ultimate test of man's conscience is his willingness to sacrifice something today for generations tomorrow, whose words of thanks will not be heard. Of course it was this ethic that led him to become the father of the modern environmental movement, to Earth Day, to landmark legislation like the Clean Air and Clean Water Acts, and to The Wilderness Society. In this building today, we are fighting to preserve the Stewardship Fund, the result of his vision 40 years ago. And every time we pour a glass of water, breathe the air in our cities, swim in our lakes, enjoy the beauty of Wisconsin's natural heritage, we ought to pause and say thank you to Gaylord Nelson for all that he has given each of us. (Applause.)

Perhaps the greatest measure of a person is not how he or she handles success, but disappointment. In 1980, when he lost his United States Senate seat, our family, like I suspect most everyone else here who was around in those days, was crushed. But Gaylord didn't seek anyone's sympathy and believe me, if he had tried to, Carrie Lee wouldn't let it happen. Instead he consoled those around him. He worried about his staff finding jobs, he wanted to keep contributing, and when he became chairman of The Wilderness Society, he said that, if he had known that job was available, he just might not have run for reelection in the first place. (Laughter.)

And perhaps the most telling thing is this: Gaylord Nelson lived nearly three-quarters of his life in the public eye in a time of ever-increasing media skepticism, in a time of distrust of government. Yet of all the Gaylord stories that have been told and written, none of them, none of them are negative. Of

all the Gaylord Nelson stories, not one has ever questioned his actions, his motivation, or his integrity. And now Gaylord Nelson returns home to Clear Lake, Wisconsin for the very last time. And a great American story will have come full circle. The fourth child, born to Anton and Mary Nelson rose to political stardom, called some of the most powerful political leaders in Washington his friends, and launched a lasting environmental movement. But, as some have said, through it all he was just a boy from Clear Lake out on a great adventure.

We loved Gaylord Nelson as a leader, a statesman, and a friend. We loved him as a brother, a father, and a son. Love is not an easy thing to put into words, neither is vision, intelligence, courage, honesty, humor, and compassion. But he was all of these. He was the most plainly decent man anyone could ever hope to meet. And we are not so much proud that he was one of us, but we are proud that we were one of his.

Robert Frost reminded us that in nature, nothing gold can stay. Nevertheless, I know I speak for many of you when I say: I wish I could see my friend just one more time.

And yet, in the vast acres of land now protected throughout our state, Gaylord Nelson lives on. In the yearly celebrations of Earth Day, joined by millions around the world, Gaylord Nelson lives on. And in the breathtaking beauty of the Apostle Islands, a symphony of nature, Gaylord Nelson lives on. So today, let us pledge to ourselves, and to each other, to keep his spirit alive not only in our hearts but in our deeds. And so, as one of Governor Nelson's successors as governor of this great state and on behalf of a grateful state, we wish Governor, Senator Gaylord Nelson farewell. (Applause.)

Thank you. Gaylord Nelson lives on in many other ways, but certainly in his children: Happy, Tia, Jeff, and his grandchildren. And with Tia, there has been a proud successor to the Nelson environmental legacy. In her work at Nature Conservancy, and now here in the State of Wisconsin with the Board of Public Lands, Tia Nelson has been truly her father's daughter. We are so pleased to welcome here today Tia Nelson. (Applause.)

Tia Nelson: Good afternoon everyone, thank you so much. On behalf of our entire family, my mother, my brothers Jeff and Happy, our thanks to Governor Doyle and his staff for all their kindness and compassion and hard work. They've done such a beautiful job in bringing this together, we are so very grateful. Thanks to Dave Obey, Fritz Mondale, and Bill Meadows, all dear, dear friends of long standing. While we regret that Mel Laird couldn't be here in person, we are grateful that Tom Petri was willing to take time away from his business in Washington to read Mel's remarks for him. Tom, you're a class act, too.

Anyone who knows my father also knows that if he were here now, you would be laughing within a few minutes. He was such a raconteur. Now if Bill Meadows and I had exchanged notes before this, I would have told him that he couldn't use that word, but Papa liked it, as he loved the language. He was an extraordinary speaker and he often was speaking off the cuff, off the envelope sometimes, off a napkin he would scribble notes on, and he always left you laughing. He once said a good speech was one that includes an interesting subject, is not too long, and has a good laugh two or three times. Well, if that's the standard, Papa far surpassed it. He didn't always even need an interesting subject, but he always gave you a few good laughs.

When I visited him in March, he had begun to decline quickly and he had, at 88 years of age, finally stopped going to work at The

Wilderness Society. If you knew him, you knew that was a bad sign. I left D.C. that day without knowing whether I would see him again. I wrote in my journal that evening, flying home to Madison, I knew only the first words, the same first words my brothers were thinking: I am the luckiest child in the world. From my mother and my father, we have received so many gifts: humor; kindness; the beauty of their enduring, unconditional love; a commitment to making a difference, however big or small; and so much more. While Papa was so many people's hero, he was also a superhuman figure to some and he was my brothers' and my hero too. And for this we count our blessings. It's an unearned gift, you know, kind of like winning the lottery with a multi-year payout: you did nothing to deserve it and it pays you all your life. In my case I didn't even have to buy the ticket. (Laughter.)

I remember struggling in school, then I'm diagnosed with dyslexia. Papa managed to coax me, bribe me really, to learn to love the language the way he did, a nickel for every word my brothers and I could learn and use in a sentence. "Proclivity," "propensity," "penchant" were my favorite—what fun we had coaxing the subtle differences from each. My father said to me over and over again, "Never be afraid to say, 'I don't know.'" Once, while in college, he sent me a clipping, a series of photos of Albert Einstein. There was a caption under each photo. One said, "Einstein never hesitated to say 'I don't know.'" Papa circled those words and he drew an arrow off into the corner: "See, even Albert Einstein and Gaylord Nelson say it." (Laughter.) Not knowing the answer was okay to him, but not asking the question was unacceptable. His lessons were so very many and so very rich and it didn't seem that he was really working at it all that hard. Those lessons came naturally, almost by osmosis.

The demands of public life meant he wasn't around much to help my mother but I didn't really notice that until later in life. I just reveled in their love and their humor and their intelligent debate. When I last visited, he asked me about my work, my new job at the Board of Commissioners of Public Lands. I told him about our plans to consolidate our land holdings and improve our management efficiency and so on. He asked me if I had any Republican support. I told him I did. Which was true at the time. (Laughter, applause.) You know, he'd never miss an occasion to give you a message, never. To honor him, I must do the same. Certainly, neither he nor his successor as governor, Republican Warren Knowles, ever thought the stewardship of Wisconsin's extraordinary resources was a partisan issue and has a long history of not being one. I hope we get back to that soon. (Applause.)

I won't stop missing the days in which we would talk after work and discuss whatever it was I was working on that day. I was so grateful to receive his wise counsel, for the way he'd poke holes in weak arguments, suggest strategies, always encourage me to do more, to do better, to get the job done. This is how he lived his life. When people asked why he kept going to work at The Wilderness Society at age 88, he said, "There's more to do, the job's not done."

He worked hard but he played hard too. As a student, he was adequate. (Laughter.) He could have done better academically, or so we suppose, but he had a wide range of other interests. He was able to calculate just how much effort he needed to expend to get passing grades. At UW Law School he had it down to a very precise science. If it took a 76 to pass, he would study enough to get a 77, leaving time for other pursuits. One fall, he and two classmates who became his two best

and longest friends, Miles McMillan and John Lawton, two brave, distinguished Wisconsinites, both of whom are now gone too—they'd spent way too much time away from class that semester because they volunteered to campaign for young Bob La Follette's reelection to the Senate. As a result, Papa didn't take some of his exams that semester. He ended up short a few credits and to make up for it he signed up for an extra heavy load the second semester. He soon learned he needed the Dean's approval to do that. The Dean said to him, "You're barely passing your courses now. How do you think you can possibly take more credits and pass them?" And Papa said, "I can just as successfully not study 20 credits as I can not study 15." (Laughter, applause.) The Dean agreed to let him try and he passed them all, barely, as usual. Later in life, Dean Lloyd Garrison told Papa, "That was the best legal argument you made." (Laughter.) Professor Paige, from the U.W. Law School, certainly would have agreed. He once said to Papa after a less than impressive answer to one of the professor's questions, "Mr. Nelson, pick up your books, go out that door, and down Bascom Hill, go to the music school. You might make a piccolo player but you'll never make a lawyer." (Laughter.) Lucky for us, Papa did not follow Professor Paige's advice.

And on that note, I would like to end with a smile and a chuckle, just the way Papa would have wanted it and invite all of you to come down to Monona Terrace for a coffee and a cookie with my family. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

#### TRIBUTE TO CONGRESSMAN PETER W. RODINO, JR.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, on May 7, former Congressman Peter W. Rodino, Jr. died at his home in West Orange, NJ, at the age of 95. At the time of his death he was professor emeritus at the Seton Hall University School of Law, where he had continued to lecture until just a few months ago. He was first elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from New Jersey's 10th congressional district in 1948 and went on to serve 20 terms, retiring in 1989. Throughout his long career he faithfully served the people of his district, and our Nation. It was my great privilege to serve on the House Committee on the Judiciary under his chairmanship, and I shall remember him always as "Chairman."

In the Congress, Peter Rodino served on the House Committee on the Judiciary for 24 years before becoming its chairman, quite unexpectedly, in 1973. At just that time it fell to the Judiciary Committee to determine whether the President had acted in violation of fundamental principles of our Constitution and, if so, to undertake the first step in the impeachment procedures that the Constitution sets out. No one understood better than Peter Rodino the magnitude of the challenge. It was, he often said, an "awesome responsibility."

As a very junior Member of the House of Representatives, just beginning my second term, it was my great responsibility to serve on the Judiciary Committee under Chairman Rodino during the impeachment inquiry. In a speech on the floor of the House in February, 1974, he set the tone for the